

# TARIFF AS THE SOLE ISSUE

Gov. Marshall, of Indiana, Gives His Views on What the Democrats Should Do.

By JAMES B. MORROW.  
Indianapolis, Jan. 22.—Gray eyes, rather smoky eyes, in fact, and light brown hair, falling in two crooked wisps across his forehead, were physical signs, it seemed to me, of a tranquil disposition. I said something to that end, hoping to vindicate a theory or to start a wedge that would open a personal revelation.

"I have the most vicious temper of any man in the United States," Thomas Riley Marshall, governor of Indiana, solemnly answered, "and a terrible tongue in my head; but thank God," he added, "I have disciplined the one and put a bit and bridle on the other. During my youth, language, as I then used it, got me into considerable trouble."

"Yes, I will talk," he said, when I found him smoking a string of a cigar in his large, lofty, and well-furnished office. "My wife declares that I am as willing and precipitate as was the negro woman who worked in a steam laundry. Sam wanted to propose; but lacked the courage, face to face, and so he called her up by telephone."

"Is that you, Maude?" he asked, falling in his confusion to identify himself. "It sure is," Maude replied. "Will you marry me?" he timidly inquired. "Yes," Maude yelled back instantly. "Who's talkin'?"

Always Ready to Talk.  
"Mrs. Marshall says," the governor observed, chewing his cigar simultaneously, "that when any one asks if I will converse, I exclaim: 'Certainly; what do you want me to converse about?'"

Until twelve years ago Gov. Marshall was 50 per cent up and 50 per cent down, physically, but he practiced law continuously and had a large business for "a country lawyer," as he calls himself. He had eczema, dyspepsia, and malaria, intermittently, and his weight during a period of fifteen years was 160 pounds, some ounces less and some ounces more at times.

"Once, after a lively run of typhoid fever," he said, "I broke all the adult records in the neighborhood by balancing the beam at eighty-eight pounds scant. I doctored for years with regulars, specialists, old women, and quacks, and then bought a 50-cent bottle of medicine and was cured."

A slender man and nervous, Gov. Marshall at the age of fifty-five has a thread of white here and there in his blond and obstinate hair, but the years have not taken the laugh out of his pale gray eyes or the human nature from his comprehension of men and their affairs; neither have they written their wrinkled story into his eager, benign, and knowing face. He gave his youth to his father, ill with slow tuberculosis, and to his mother, who died of cancer. At forty-one he was married, getting a comrade and an active partner.

"When I electioneer," he said, glowing like a man on his honeymoon, "Mrs. Marshall accompanies me. She talks to every one, but never about politics or her husband, and shakes hands with farmers, villagers, mechanics, and coal miners."

Not a Good Fisherman.  
"I don't fish," he replied to an inquiry as to his pastimes. "I wouldn't step on a worm if I could help it. Seven years ago I established a reputation as a fisherman. We were on the lake at Petoskey. Mrs. Marshall caught a fine string of perch and pike. I got five good fish. I have never fished since. I shall never fish again."

"It is well," he said, at another turn in our conversation, "that I didn't run for governor at the age of forty-five. Instead of nearly ten years later. In all probability I would have ruined myself. Deficient in philosophy and in balance, I would have spent all of my accumulations in a headlong struggle to win. As it was, the State committee asked me for \$1,800. My stumping tour cost me \$1,700—railroad fare, hotel bills, and a few cigars for the boys. So Thomas R. Marshall was elected governor of Indiana, in 1908, at a personal outlay of only \$3,500."

"Why did you run for governor?" I asked. "Back in 1906 the Democrats of my district said I ought to become a candidate for Congress. The district was Republican. Other men had been bearing the Democratic burden. Now it was my turn. I had never wanted public office, but I had stumped and worked for personal friends. I didn't say so, but I was poor, and if elected to Congress, by some accident, I would have been compelled to take the risk and be a candidate. If I were offered a seat in the United States Senate right now, the offer being brought to me on a golden silver, I would decline to accept it for the very same reason."

Becomes a Candidate.  
"So I beat around the bush and inadvertently said, not thinking it would be remembered—not thinking about it at all, in fact—that the only office I would have was the governorship of my own Commonwealth. The next summer, while in Michigan, where I go every year regularly, an editor in Fort Wayne announced my candidacy. When I came home I found some men at work. It was suggested that photographs and eulogies be sent to the newspapers. 'You may write letters to your personal friends,' I said, 'but you cannot go whooping around the State just as if I were a circus, a breakfast food, or a cure for snailpox.'"

"Even the friends who were managing my campaign thought I would be defeated, but I felt sure of the nomination. I am a fatalist. In law suits and everything else I do all that I can while I am in the fight, but I never worry about the outcome. I am not responsible for results. If my client is accused of murder and the jury is out, I go to bed and to sleep and get the news after breakfast in the morning. What is to be will be, and staying awake won't change it."

"So I was nominated, whereupon all of my managers wagged their heads and, looking around to see if they were watched, lowered their voices and predicted that I would lose at election. I took the stump, making 150 speeches and going twice to every county. Mrs. Marshall went along. Where I travel she travels. I never leave her at home. It was reported that she was a committee of one charged with the difficult task of keeping me sober. I never drink a drop of any kind of liquor, not even at banquets, but I made no answer."

Has But Two Issues.  
"I had but two issues: First, the tariff question; second, the economical administration of the State's business. I showed

how offices were being multiplied and how the expense of government was being recklessly increased to the cost of the tax payers. The assessed value of the personal and real property in Indiana is \$1,777,000,000. The appropriations of the last Congress of the United States were more than \$2,000,000,000 in the aggregate. Every two years, therefore, the national government eats up a State as big and rich as Indiana."

"Efforts were made to have me shift my ground, but I was rooted to one particular spot, and there I stayed. I told the people I was running for governor on the Democratic ticket—I was no man's man; neither the candidate of the brewers, nor of the prohibitionists. I meant to give the State honest government; to be the governor of the Republicans as well as the Democrats. 'I have a good law practice,' I said to every audience, 'if you men don't want me, you can bet

duty on each class of goods that came from abroad. Diamonds, pig iron, cotton fabrics, woollens, pottery, everything, would be taxed a uniform rate based on value. A shipment of silks worth \$1,000 would be taxed the same as a shipment of hides worth a like amount. Trading in schedules would be at an end, scandals would cease, and every American would get a square deal. And let me predict that if the proposition is ever put before the people it will carry the country."

Church Taxes Wrong Attitude.  
"You are said to have censured the church recently, saying that church members made social distinctions among themselves?"

"When I was a boy," Gov. Marshall answered, "Christians belonging to the same congregation constituted an organized family, in which there were equality, helpfulness, and fraternity. Now, if a

man's clothing is poor, he is not a member of the family in the old sense, and if a woman's bonnet is cheap, she is made to feel, to some extent, that her religion is cheap. Being a church member myself, I feel free to give expression to my opinions."

"But my most serious complaint against the church is that it seeks to have the legislatures of States control the morals of the people. Religion is defiled when it begins to operate in politics. Christian people pray, or at least they say they do, and if their prayers are not answered quickly, they remark, one to the other, 'Let's go to Indianapolis and see the legislature.' Christ lived under the most oppressive of despots, but he said nothing about Rome, except that all men should render unto Caesar that which belonged to Caesar. Paul didn't hang around the lobbies and buttonhole the lawmakers. If a slave escapes, he told the people, 'return him to his master.' Christ and His disciples and apostles worked with the hearts of men."

We legislate against some form of moral delinquency, and immediately after evil takes its place. There is progress in crime, as there is in everything else. Sweeten the heart of the manufacturer and he will not sweeten his canned fruits and vegetables with formaldehyde. Get at the conscience of the contractor, and he will not build a house that will fall down. Meanwhile, it should be remembered that the battle against sin, mourned over by some, makes character and glorifies human nature."

"Were you a poor boy?" I asked. "At the risk of being dull and undramatic, let me say that up to date I have never known a hungry or a shabby minute. In my youth I did nothing, manually, you understand, but unwillingly to split a little wood now and then. I also managed the kindling for the kitchen stove, and my father, a country doctor, said I did it indifferently, although his language was less polite. Getting down among the roots of my family tree, I will explain that Thomas Marshall, my great-grandfather, was a Virginian. He liberated his slaves and his sons left home to make a living. Riley Marshall, my grandfather, came to Indiana. He owned a section of land in the later oil and gas belt and sold it for \$25,000. His neighbors said he was rich as a prince, and he didn't deny the allegation. My father studied in the office of a local physician, and then went to Chicago on horseback and was graduated from Rush Medical College. She was an orphan. Many of her relatives were clergymen and professors in theological seminaries."

"When I was two years old, my mother being ill with a malady of the lungs, we left New Manchester, in this State, and moved West in a covered wagon. My father said that life in the open air was good for consumption. He was a competent and successful physician and a temperance orator of wide reputation. We stopped at Champaign, Ill. My uncles came and opened a dry goods store and my father practiced his profession. I heard the debate between Lincoln and Douglas at the town of Freeport, sitting on Lincoln's lap while Douglas spoke. I only recollect that one man was tall and the other short, and that the short man irritated me by patting the top of my head."

Move to Kansas.  
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health again became bad. There is a tradition in the family that I saw John Brown and that he spoke to me. Later we traveled back across the State of Missouri, still in the covered wagon, to La Grange, on the Mississippi River, where my father, a Douglas Democrat, doctored the inhabitants until he told Duff Green that he would be leading a revolt against the national government inside of six months. So my father, having expressed Northern sentiments, was advised to move on. "We departed in the wagon after sundown, and the property we left behind was afterward destroyed. Presently my grandfather returned to Indiana. The Marshalls gravitated to Kosciusko County, and have lived in that immediate region ever since."

"My mother tried to persuade me to be a Presbyterian minister. I have never thought, however, that I was called to preach the gospel. If I were to hear such a call to-day I should resign my office to-morrow and go to work. It was believed at Wabash College, where I studied four years, that reading made me a full man, writing a good man, and speaking a grand man. I always had a full man—that's the way I express it. I was neither profound nor scholarly, but I could put things in a manner that seemed to please those who listened to what I said. A mediocre speech, if well delivered by a man of good presence, will have more effect than a learned discourse awkwardly spoken in a squeaky voice. We debated questions suggested after getting together in our meetings, and I became rather fluent for a young man. Besides, I read Guizot's 'France,' Grot's 'Greece,' Gibbon's 'Rome,' Hume's 'Greece,' Gibbon's 'England,' Rollin's 'Ancient History,' d'Aubigne's 'Reformation,' and Bancroft's 'United States.'"

Leading Politicians There.  
"Moreover, Thomas A. Hendricks, Daniel W. Voorhees, Benjamin Harrison, and David Turpie came to Crawfordsville, the seat of Wabash College, to practice before the courts, and as I listened to them I thought a lawyer had the opportunity of doing as much good in the world as any one else. I believe so yet. No lawyer will say that I ever did a mean act during my three and thirty years at the bar of Indiana, or that I took any advantage of the law, or was indifferent to my oath as a sworn officer of the court. I make no boast. I simply want you to understand that my early ideals of the profession were practicable, and that I have made an honest attempt to live by them under all circumstances."

"It is said I have been known to quote the law against my own client to the judge on the bench. Any man had the right to employ me, and I always gave him my best thought and work, so long as I believed his cause to be just and right. When I ceased to so believe, he didn't have money enough to keep me in the case over night."

"Well, I should have gone into the law, anyway, but Benjamin Harrison once gave me some encouragement and good advice. Two Wabash students and myself were sued for \$20,000 by a woman who came to Crawfordsville ostensibly to lecture. I didn't like the way she performed, and wrote her up for the college paper. I took the article to Gen. Harrison. He told me it was libelous, talked to me in a friendly manner, gave me counsel, and declined to accept a cent of pay, although I feared that his fee would be pretty large. I got letters from Henry Ward Beecher, T. De Witt Talmage, and Inspector Byrnes, saying that the woman had been a singer or a dancer on the Bowery in New York. When she heard of the letters, she dropped the suit."

Got the Democrats.  
"I read law at Columbia City, in the next county west of Fort Wayne, and there I practiced. All the lawyers were Republicans, and so the Democrats employed me. My fees the first year amounted to \$1,900. Then and until long afterward my partner and I worked early and late. During my weeks to open the office, I was there every morning at 6:45 o'clock. In my weeks of closing, I remained at my desk until 10 at night. We made enough with papers—mortgages, deeds, and the like—to pay all of our expenses. Young lawyers of the present, even in the county towns, begin at 9 in the morning and quit at 5 in the afternoon. I have never had any ambition to be rich, neither had my father. My vocational returns, however, have always been good—by good I mean \$6,000 a year or better. My accumulations now amount, I suppose, to \$35,000—enough for Mrs. Marshall, were she to become a widow. We have no children. Meanwhile, I am spending the \$3,000 a year paid me by the people of Indiana for being their governor."

"I don't own an automobile. I have no horses. When I ride, I use a street car. At noon each day I go to a dairy lunch room for a cup of coffee and a sandwich, the total cost of the same being 10 cents. Still, the \$3,000 all goes, along with every penny of my private income."

(Copyright, 1909, by James B. Morrow.)  
WIPING OUT STATE LINES.  
Philadelphia Now Claimed as Only a Suburb of New York.

The process of making Philadelphia almost a suburb of New York, of placing New Jersey's huge area of homes for our workers within still easier reach, and possibly of making Montauk Point our port for trans-Atlantic traffic is now nearly worked out by the engineering genius of our age of wonders, says the New York Press. Actual running of a train through the Pennsylvania tunnel under Long Island, the East River, Manhattan Island, and the Hudson River brings this great community to a further realization that State lines hereabouts are of no consequence in anything but governmental schemes.

This burrowing of railroads under the city and its waters will increase from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands the number of our people who will come here to do their work, but have their voting residence in another State. Perhaps it was because the widest part of the Hudson River was a barrier to easy communication between its banks that it became a State line. Progress has made that boundary negligible. Yet masses of men, including large numbers of those most influential in the big business that is done on Manhattan Island, are forced to divide their allegiance to State sovereignty between New Jersey and New York. They are, in all but the fact of voting, citizens of two States.

If State lines were to be redrawn to-day a more natural and practical disposition of the territory within fifty miles of the city hall would put a large section of New Jersey in the same State as Manhattan Island. There used to be a proposition to carve a new State out of New York, with New York City as the capital. Indeed, the interests of Newark and the Oranges are far nearer to those of New York City than the concerns of Rochester, Plattsburg, and Buffalo.

At the Royal Normal College for the blind in London 90 per cent of the students are self-supporting.

# AN AMERICANIZED VIZIER

Turkey's New Premier a Former Resident of the United States, and an Aggressive Man.

By EX-ATTACHE.  
Turkey's new premier, Hakkı Bey, has many American friends. Indeed, he is the first grand vizier of the sublime porte in all the history of the Ottoman empire to have enjoyed the educational advantages of a residence in the United States, having represented his government in this country as commissioner general at Chicago throughout the Columbian World's Fair.

He availed himself of the opportunity to visit many of the big cities on this side of the Atlantic, made the acquaintance of a number of leading men in many different walks of American life, and has ever since manifested a very warm admiration and sympathy for the United States and everything American. Moreover, he has a perfect command of the English language, and, all things considered, his appointment to the premiership at Constantinople cannot but contribute to the promotion of a better understanding and of friendlier relations between the United States and Turkey.

Hakkı, who is a man just this side of fifty years of age, and who for the last nine months has been filling the office of Ambassador at Rome, enjoys the well-deserved reputation of being the most able lawyer of the Ottoman empire. He was for a number of years the principal legal adviser to the department of foreign affairs at Stamboul, where he acquired the practice of tempering his judicial view of pending issues with respect for considerations of diplomacy and statecraft, after the fashion of some of the most successful Secretaries of State at Washington.

Unless I am much mistaken, this is the first occasion of a lawyer being appointed grand vizier, and the innovation is regarded as of happy augury, especially in view of the existing circumstances and difficulties. For of the many questions now pending between the porte and the powers—questions affecting not only the foreign relations, but likewise the internal administration and economy of the empire—there is not one but what will derive benefit from being confided for treatment to a statesman so versed in international law and diplomacy as Hakkı Bey.

Of the breadth of view acquired during his stay in America and in the years that he spent in England in a consular capacity an illustration may be found in the declaration which he made during his term of office as minister of the interior of the new regime, when he expressed his hope for the early obliteration of all the racial differences which so long hindered the development of his country. "In our Parliament," he declared, "there will be no Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Jew, or Macedonian deputies. They will all be Ottomans."

His conception of constitutionalism is that of the English-speaking rather than of the Latin and Teuton nationalities. He is keenly alive to the prerogatives of the ministers of state and also to those of Parliament, and before consenting to accept the office of grand vizier insisted that not only should he be permitted to select the colleagues forming the cabinet of which he had now become president, but also that in his relations with Parliament there should be no interference whatsoever by the so-called committee of union and progress.

This committee has, in conjunction with Mahmud Sherif Pasha, the generalissimo, been exercising dictatorial powers ever since the accession to the throne of the present Sultan, very much in the same manner as the Military League at Athens has been doing with regard to the government of Greece—that is to say, the committee of union and progress, composed of Young Turk leaders, have been making and unmaking premiers and ministers and directing the Sultan, and even Parliament, what to do and what not to do without any right or warrant beyond those which they had usurped.

In fact, this more or less occult and totally nonofficial body had ended by monopolizing all power and authority, without any responsibility, bringing parliamentary government in Turkey into ridicule and creating distrust not only abroad, but also at home, in the much-vaunted constitutional reforms. Thus it has forced four grand viziers from office within the space of twelve months, and just before Christmas compelled the Parliament to stultify itself by repealing almost unanimously a measure which it had voted by an equally large majority less than twenty-four hours previously.

While Hakkı is stated to have received encouragement at Berlin and at Vienna, where it was considered more advantageous to have as ruler of the Ottoman empire a young and gifted prince, carefully trained by foreign tutors, thoroughly modern in all his views, and on terms of personal friendship with the Kaiser's sons rather than a sexagenarian prince such as Rechad, concerning whom also little nothing was known, owing to the close captivity in which he had been

kept for over a quarter of a century by his brother, the proposal was scouted in Paris, St. Petersburg, Rome, and especially in London.

Great Britain, indeed, pointed out to Hakkı that since the accession to the throne of Osman was based not merely on tradition, but also on Koranic law, she could not, in view of the fact that King Edward has nearly a hundred million Moslems subject to his rule, countenance any such project, which would be calculated to offend the religious prejudices of all true followers of this prophet.

In fact, one of the reasons of the very marked friendship which Rechad has manifested on every occasion for England, since he became Sultan, under the title of Mahmud V. is due to his knowledge that had it not been for the firm stand taken by her in the matter of the succession to the Turkish throne he would probably have been sacrificed to his nephew, young Prince Burhan-Eddine, while it is quite natural that he should not be expected to feel very cordial toward Hakkı Bey, in whom he sees the statesman through whose agency he was to have been set aside.

It is only fair to Hakkı Bey to add that during this special mission he was quick to appreciate the sentiments of the foreign powers with regard to the succession and that it was owing to his straightforward, though unpalatable, report to the former Sultan that the latter abandoned all further attempts to substitute Burhan-Eddine for Rechad.